

# Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station

University of Kentucky

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## COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPINGS IN KNOTT COUNTY

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BULLETIN NO. 366

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Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Kentucky and  
United States Department of Agriculture Cooperating

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Lexington, Ky.

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(123)

TABLE 1. TYPES OF SERVICE AGENCIES FOUND IN VARIOUS COMMUNITIES OF KNOTT COUNTY, IN 1930

Community	Primary services						Communi- cation		Secondary and specialized services												
	General store	Church	Elementary school	Agri- cultural Extension		Garage	Post office	Railroad station	High school	Lodge	Bank	Physician	Grocery store	Restaurant	Bakery	Barber shop	Shoe repair shop	Moving picture house	Drug store	Hotel	Library
				Adult	4-H Club																
County seat community Hindman .....	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	2	-	1	-	1	1	-	1**	3	1
Coal-camp communities Sassafras-Vicco .....	7	3	2	-	-	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	6	1	3	2	2	2	1	1
Anco .....	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wiscoal .....	2	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Porter Camp .....	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1*	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lumber-camp community																					
Decoy .....	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
High-school communities																					
Pippapass .....	5	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Cart Creek .....	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Vest .....	3	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

\* No passenger service, only a freight siding or branch from Lackey.

\*\* A drug store without prescription service.



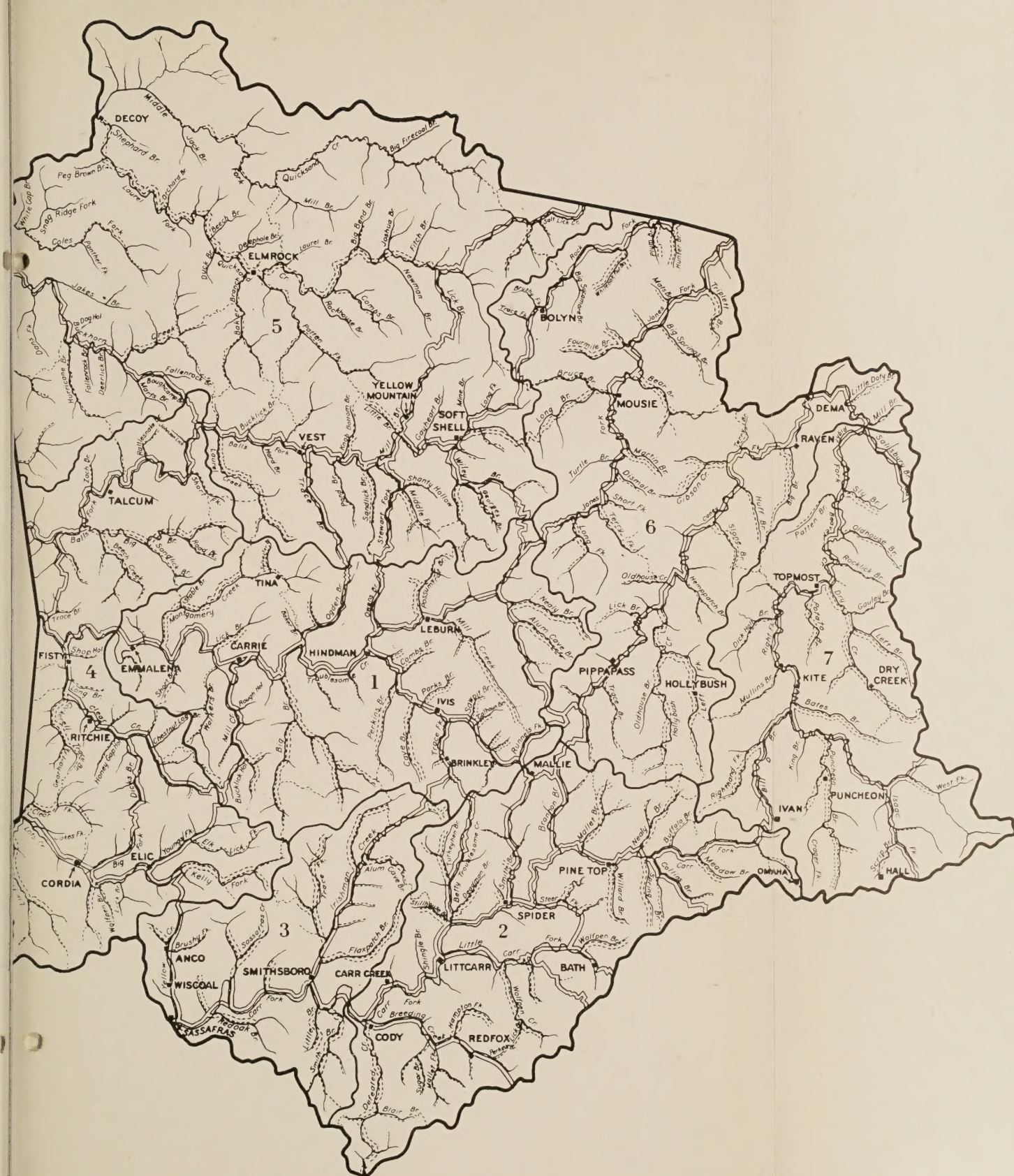


Fig. 1. Magisterial Districts, Knott County.





## BULLETIN NO. 366

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### Community and Neighborhood Groupings in Knott County<sup>1</sup>

By MERTON OYLER

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Knott county, formed in 1884 from parts of Breathitt, Floyd, Letcher, Magoffin and Perry counties, had a population in 1890 of 5,438 persons, or 15.6 to the square mile. Increasing during four decades by percentages of 60, 24, 8 and 30.7, the population in 1930 was 15,230, or 43.8 to the square mile. Coal and gas development in Knott and adjoining counties influenced the rate of increase from 1920 to 1930.

#### ORGANIZATIONS

*Agricultural Extension Work.* The first county farm agent, who had headquarters in Knott in 1915, worked also in Perry and Letcher counties, tho the work was later separated. In 1925 agricultural extension work was dropped and it was not renewed until October, 1928, when it was sponsored by the Caney Creek community center. It is still in progress, as is indicated by Figure 3 giving location of 8 groups.

*Schools.* In the county there were 66 elementary schools for white and two for negro pupils, in 1930, and five consolidated high schools. The effect of geographic conditions in determining school districts is shown by Figure 4. High ridges determine the boundary on two or three sides of each school district.

For the purpose of promoting education, the Knott County Improvement Association was formed, in 1919, and attempted an ambitious schoolhouse construction program. Buildings were started at Carr Creek, Clear Creek and Vest before the association collapsed

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<sup>1</sup> The study here reported is part of a comprehensive study of land utilization and related economic and social problems in Knott County, Kentucky, in which the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station cooperated with the following bureaus and divisions of the United States Department of Agriculture: The Divisions of Land Economics, Farm Management and Costs, and Farm Population and Rural Life, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics; the Bureau of Home Economics; and the Forest Service.

The study was planned under the direction of Dr. W. D. Nicholls of the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, and Dr. C. J. Galpin, economist in charge of the above named division of Farm Population and Rural Life. The maps were prepared in the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics under the direction of Dr. T. B. Manny of that Bureau. Credit is due to Marjorie F. Hoagland, of the Kentucky College of Agriculture, for rewriting in condensed form the descriptions of the county, community and neighborhood organizations.

for lack of funds. Separate organizations were formed in the several communities to continue the program.

*Board of Health.* Organized in August, 1927, the Knott County Board of Health employed a full-time medical officer, and two nurses. The initial budget was \$5,000, the county giving \$1,500, the state \$2,500 and the International Health Board \$1,000. Of an additional \$1,000 subscribed privately, only a small part was collected. The budget was continued until July 1, 1931, when the U. S. Public Health Service took over part of the cost in connection with its drouth-relief program. As 39 mid-wives serve in the county, no family is more than a few miles from one.

*Church Services.* The forced isolation of most neighborhoods makes the religious gatherings unusually significant. Of the 36 church groups, 13 have their own meeting places, 21 meet in school-houses and two in private homes (Figure 5). During the summer, meetings are nearly always held out-of-doors. There are still many neighborhoods where no automobile has penetrated and outsiders have not seriously influenced the church life in many parts of the county. Civic and recreation affairs are not considered a church concern, altho the church meetings offer ample opportunity for leisurely visiting and news-gathering by members and non-members. During the summer, families come to services from distant parts of the county.

*Neighborhood Social Gatherings.* Dances are popular in the Upper Clear Creek and Upper Carr Fork sections, particularly the square dance. While sometimes the entertainment is for young people, more often older people also come to observe or take part. During the summer, out-of-door singing meets are occasionally held.

*Post-Office Areas.* If the postoffice is not conveniently situated with relation to the neighborhood, school or store, or conflicts with personal prejudices, lack of patrons may cause abandonment. Survival therefore indicates a democratic approval. Of the 42 post offices in the county, 29 receive mail daily, except Sunday, and 13 get mail only three times a week. The county has only star routes.

*Trade Areas.* Major trade areas are determined mainly by geographic conditions. Boundaries usually follow magisterial district lines which, in turn, follow the ridge tops. Exceptions exist where roads or trails with easy grades traverse gaps in the ridges. Figure 7 maps the trading relations of the county.

*Newspaper Circulation Areas.* As no newspaper is published in Knott county, papers from nearby communities have a circulation.



Of the 288 subscriptions, 84 percent are for papers published at Hazard. Papers are also taken from Prestonsburg, Whitesburg and Jackson.

*Banking Areas.* The only bank in the county is at Hindman,

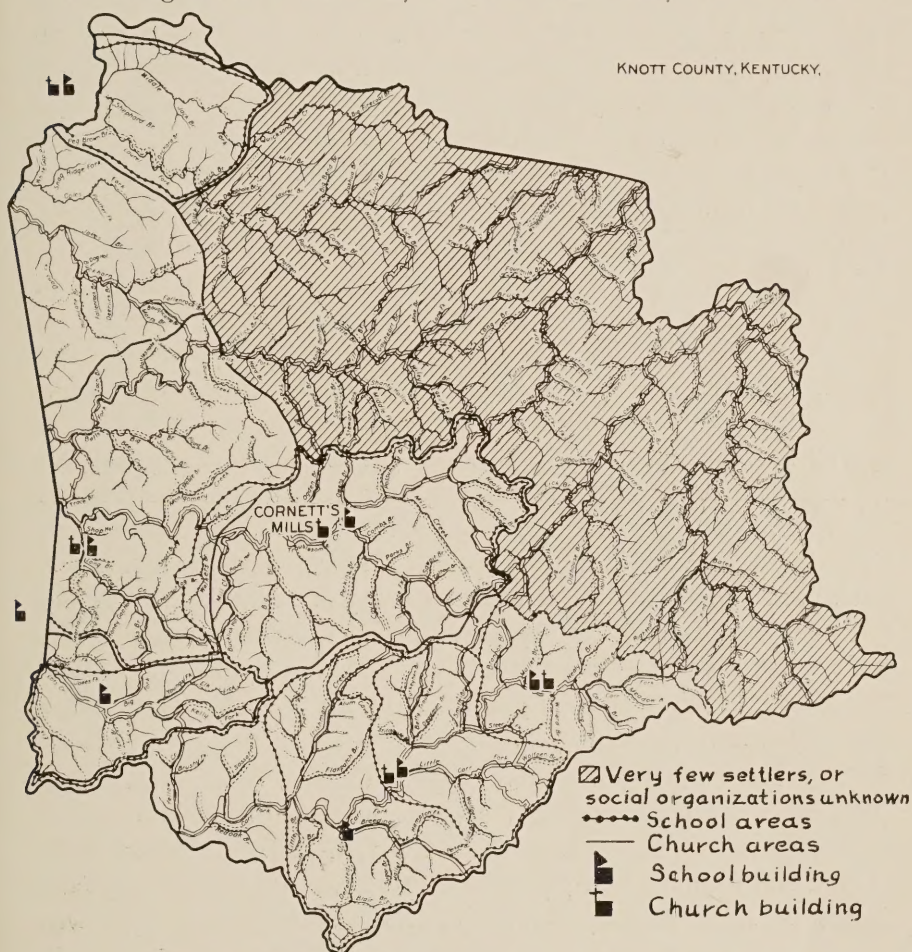


Fig. 2. School and Church Areas in 1860.

which has a bank-service area much larger than its trade area. Banking facilities are also obtained at Hazard and in Floyd county, but data of the study indicate that not more than one-half of the families have direct banking connection. Many families rely upon local merchants for this service.

#### COMMUNITIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

These are grouped according to the magisterial districts, in their numerical order, as indicated in Figure 1.

## MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT NO. 1

*Hindman Community.* The county seat of Knott county was located, in 1884, at the forks of Troublesome Creek and was named Hindman in honor of Lt. Gov. James R. Hindman. The population of 331, in 1890, had grown to 508 persons, in 1930.

Two years after the county was formed, Mr. George Clarke came to Hindman to practice law but, on finding that the people would rather be "taught them than lawed them," he became teacher in the public school.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Clarke later helped prepare teachers for public school work.

During the summer of 1899, Miss May Stone and Miss Katherine Pettit, under the auspices of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, started settlement work in a tent near Hazard. "One of the patriarchs of Hindman, hearing of the Perry county venture, had walked the twenty miles to ask the 'quare women' to come to the forks of Troublesome Creek the next summer 'to do what the sperrit moves you for my grands and greats and t'other young-uns that needs hit'."<sup>2</sup> This was the beginning of the Hindman Settlement School operated, at first, under W. C. T. U. auspices, and since then financed by private subscription. Several of the teachers have been paid by the county for the past few years, and recently a high school was built with county funds. The settlement school maintains a 6,000-volume library, valued at \$12,000. The Mountain Echo, a small newspaper, is published by the school. Basketball is the only athletic game played.

The Rock Spring Primitive Baptist church, established before the war between the states, was soon abandoned. Another Primitive Baptist church was established near by, in 1924. A Methodist church was founded many years ago but never attracted many farm families. A Missionary Baptist church was organized by townspeople and has only a few farmers as members. Students who board at the Hindman school dormitories contribute to leadership and activities.

The trade area is rather large. Merchandise was hauled from Jackson until, in 1914, the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad extended a branch to Lackey. Now, freight has to be hauled only 14 miles. The Hindman Masonic lodge has a larger membership area than any other social group. There are also 4-H club and adult agri-

<sup>1</sup> "Professor Clarke Remembers," The Mountain Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 6, September, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> "The Blossom Woman," Mountain Life and Work, Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 1, April, 1934.



cultural extension groups. The council hall of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics for the Hindman area is located on Montgomery creek. Since 1928, the state highway that traverses the county has made Hindman accessible to automobile transporta-



Fig. 3. Local Organizations.

Jr. O. U. A. M. 1, Montgomery Creek. 2, Vicco. 3, Lott's Creek. 4, Dwarf. 5, Ball Branch. 6, Caney Creek. 7, Wayland. 8, Garrett.

Masonic lodges. 11, Hindman. 12, Vicco. 13, Wayland. 14, Hardburly.

Agricultural extension. 1, Hindman. 2, Big Branch. 3, Brinkley. 4, Smith Branch. 5, Yellow Creek. 6, Clear Creek. 7, Vest. 8, Caney Creek.

tion, which is beginning to show its effect upon the mobility of the population.

*Leburn.* A factor in the organization of Leburn was the work of Parker W. Fisher who, in 1913, organized a Congregational church there. The building was not finished and, in 1918, the pro-

ject was abandoned when Mr. Fisher moved away. Mrs. Dan Pratt, a former community worker, started a Sunday school, in 1922, at the Mill Creek public school, and maintains a library in her home for the benefit of the citizenry.

The Mill Creek school has a fairly new, well constructed building and nearby families support the enterprise. In contrast, the Owens Branch school is dilapidated. Most of the Owens Branch families are inter-related. School district No. 5, at the head of the left fork of Troublesome Creek, is divided by four streams, these natural barriers making cooperation less easy. Coming together in patronage of Squint Johnson school and for church services held at the school building, this neighborhood is divided in most other interests.

*Big Branch Neighborhood.* This school district is on a tributary of Troublesome, below Hindman. A country store is conveniently located and, in 1930, a modern, well lighted school building was erected. Prior to 1920, 20 farm families lived in this district, only one being unrelated to the others. A stave mill was started that year, and 10 families moved in to work there. Mill products are hauled by truck several times a day to Duane, in Perry county, and consequently many Big Branch families buy their groceries in that community. A few families trade at Sassafras-Vicco. For church services, the people are divided. On Irish Creek there are two churches; many of the families go to one or the other, while a few go to Hindman. Agricultural extension activities, including 4-H club, are carried on at the schoolhouse. Five men in the neighborhood go to Montgomery Creek for Junior Order United American Mechanics meetings.

*Lower Mill Creek and Carrie School Districts.* Lower Mill Creek forms a separate school district, while the Carrie district includes Walkers and Lick branches and the families on Troublesome almost to the mouth of Big Branch. Hindman and Duane grocers get much of the trade of these two neighborhoods, tho country stores are also patronized. Most Mill Creek families attend a Holiness church; Carrie families favor no special denomination tho the Carrie postmaster is the preacher at the Clear Creek Primitive Baptist church. His children are not sent to Carrie school, but to the Hindman Settlement school. The Mill Creek school has moderately good support. There are no agricultural extension groups in these districts.

The inhabitants of Mill Creek, living in a closely knit neigh-



# KNOTT COUNTY, KENTUCKY

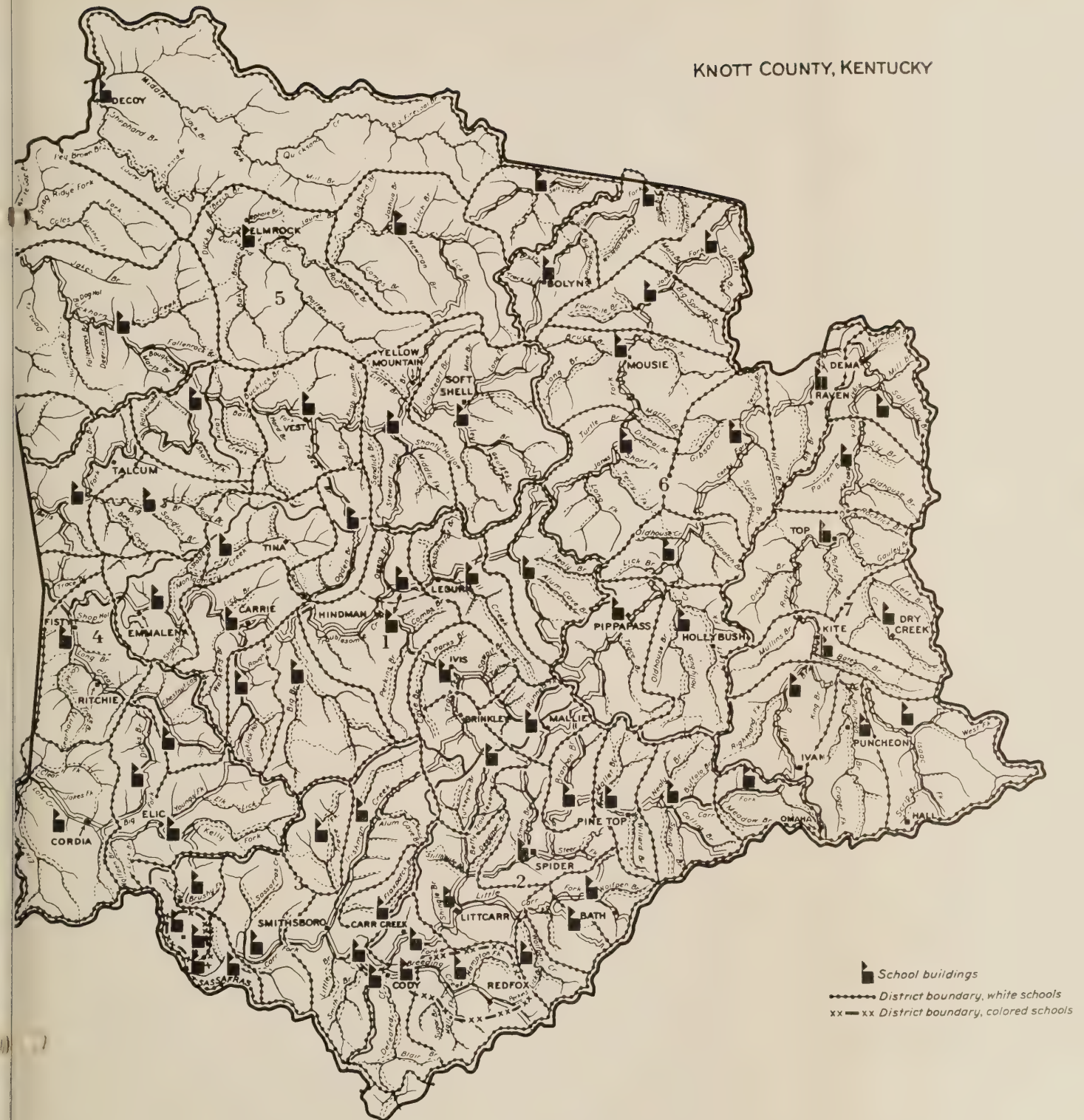


Fig. 4. School Districts.





borhood, visit chiefly among themselves, while Carrie families, partly because of the new highway, are not so exclusive. Striking differences in neighborhood characteristics of these two settlements may be intensified for the next few years by the coming of the highway. A large school district could be made for Mill Creek by erecting a building at its mouth, on the highway.

*Emmalena.* The school and post office areas of Emmalena coincide. The school district is handicapped geographically, so that expansion will be difficult. It might be possible to make it include all of Montgomery Creek, were it not that so many children would have to walk at least three miles to school. The schoolhouse is a frame building, constructed after the highway was opened, and located close to it. The families trade at Hindman and Duane. Most of them attend the Clear Creek church, in an adjoining school district. There is no organized group for agricultural extension. Lodges are the Junior Order United American Mechanics and the Masonic. The neighborhood is rapidly losing its original characteristics because of the new highway, and the changes will in all likelihood continue.

*Montgomery Creek.* The Montgomery school district includes about 31½ miles on Montgomery creek, and the heads of two other streams. There is no church and most of the families attend the Clear Creek church. Hindman is accessible as a trade center only by traveling on horseback to the highway. There is one country store.

Many political and professional leaders belong to the Junior Order United American Mechanics, which has become a socializing group. The hall on Montgomery Creek cost \$300, which is being financed by local dues. Organized about 1927, the lodge at one time had about 100 members. Some of the women express the need of a similar group.

*Ivis.* The Rev. Mr. Rainey came to Ivis in 1895 as the first resident minister, sent by the Presbyterian church in U. S. Shortly after Mrs. Rainey died, Mr. Rainey, in 1905, built Searles chapel in her honor. As Jonathan Jones, a Methodist, had actively supported the work, the name Jones chapel was commonly used after the mission board withdrew. A school nearby was called Jones Chapel School.

In 1908 the Rev. A. E. Smith, president of Hindman Settlement school, was appointed the regular pastor. In 1911 he resigned his school position to become full-time pastor of churches at Ivis and

Sassafras Branch. He also gave time to other church developments comparatively near. After teaching the public school at Ivis, in 1912-13, he started a two-months school at the manse. The following year a school was established under Presbyterian auspices at Sassafras Creek. In 1916, the Ivis-Sassafras pastor was transferred to Perry county to aid in difficult work there. The Rev. R. T. Gettys, of Tennessee, came to take charge, and Mrs. Alice S. G. Lloyd, of New England, who had come to Ivis, arranged to aid with the work. She was instrumental in erecting a large community building at Ivis in 1916. Caney Creek community asked her to start a school there, and Abisha Johnson gave the use of his farm for its establishment. Mrs. Lloyd, therefore, transferred her interests to Caney Creek.

Following 1920, many young people of Ivis were drawn to Carr Fork by coal-mining developments. Mr. Smith returned to Sassafras in the fall of 1922. That year, the church sold the Searles memorial chapel. Preaching services were continued at Ivis until 1923, but in that year the work at Ivis, Brinkley and Cody was dropped at the instance of the Presbyterian board. The community center has been used at times, since 1923, for social gatherings, but as the building was not finished it rapidly became dilapidated. Attempts to organize a Sunday school were short lived. In 1930, Sunday school and preaching services were started at Jones chapel school. In 1931, the Knott county agricultural agent started adult extension work at Ivis. The neighborhood is becoming identified with the Hindman community.

*Brinkley.* Brinkley is one of the few ridge-top school districts in the county. A few years ago, the Caney Creek community center arranged for the establishment of a branch of the Brinkley school-house. Delta Theta Tau sorority became interested in the work, bought a \$1500 farm and provided \$2,263, and the county appropriated \$1500 for the erection of the 4-room stone school building. School supplies, such as pencils, paper and some books are furnished the pupils by the sorority, which has also sponsored a supplementary school library. Students from adjoining districts have been attracted to the school and because of the increased enrollment, another teacher has been employed. Delta Theta Tau expects the teachers in charge to serve as full-time community leaders, and is looking forward to launching an agricultural program.

The people of this district attend the Old Carr Church or Jones Chapel. Both 4-H and adult agricultural groups are already meet-



ing at the school building. The Masonic and the Junior Order U. A. M. lodges are rather well-attended. The ridge dividing the three magisterial districts is low in this vicinity and permits easy access to the school. Brinkley is expanding both in size and in community life.

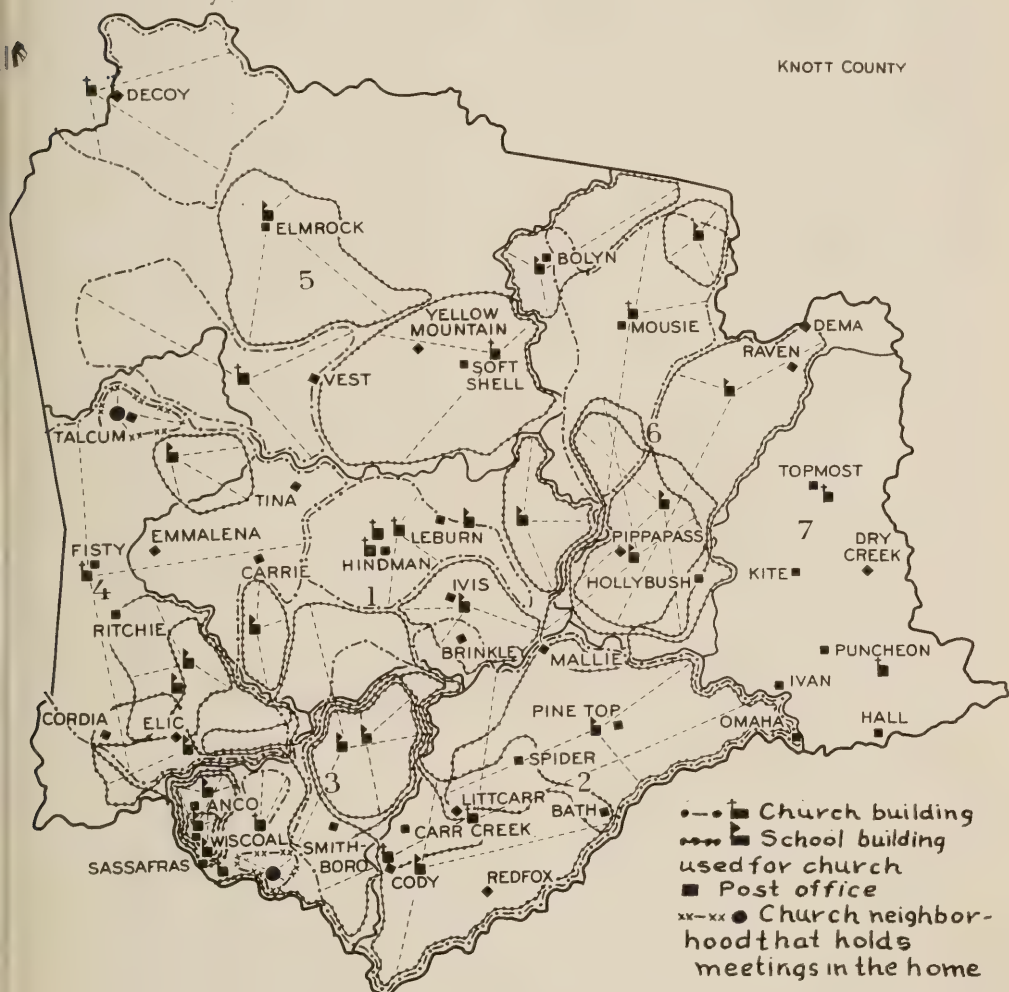


Fig. 5. Churches

*Mallie.* Mallie is a school neighborhood that has no identity for other relations. Located at the intersection of three important roads, it is subject to influence from three magisterial districts. Church allegiance is divided among Jones Chapel, the Mallet and Old Carr churches, and the services at the Caney Creek community center. Sassafras-Vicco and Hindman are the trading centers.

## MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT NO. 2

*Upper Carr Fork.* The families who patronize Head-of-Carr school are divided in most other relations; that is, in trading, post office, etc. Many of them peddle farm products in Floyd and Letcher counties, making trips to coal-mining camps as often as three times a week during the gardening season.

The Nealy school has a new two-room building and serves a large school district. The families do only a small amount of peddling. They all use the same post office, at Pinetop, and do most of their trading at the store in which it is located. This post office also serves Mallet and Brannon.

Mallet school has two teachers, using one large room. The building is also the meeting place of the long-established Mallet Primitive Baptist church. Most of the families on Upper Carr Fork attend this church, and also the Old Carr church.

The Brannon school district is rather small. A country store near by serves most of the families, tho a few trade elsewhere.

The Smith Branch school is a new two-room building, and serves a fairly large district. Agricultural extension groups, both adult and 4-H club, meet at the schoolhouse. The families attend both the Mallet and Old Carr churches, or the negro church on Breeding Creek. This school district is accessible, has well-trained teachers and interested pupils. Interest in basketball has spread from the Carr Creek community center. A basketball team from the Brannon Branch district and a baseball team from Buffalo Branch neighborhood played visiting teams during the summer.

*Little Carr Fork.* Three school districts are located on Little Carr Fork. Buffalo has a new stone building, replacing a frame structure. Athletics and other interests have given the neighborhood strong identity. Formerly one school, on Carr Fork, between Wolfpen and Double creeks, served all the families on these creeks but now each has a school. Wolfpen Creek school and the schoolhouse located on the Big Double are one-room, modern, well constructed frame buildings. Families of the three districts attend the Old Carr Church and those of Buffalo also go to the Mallet Church. One post office serves Little Carr Fork, with the aid of a star route over which the carrier travels on horseback. Agricultural extension work has not been organized.

*Littcarr.* This post office at the mouth of Little Carr fork serves an area similar to the school district. The first floor of the large



# KNOTT COUNTY, KENTUCKY

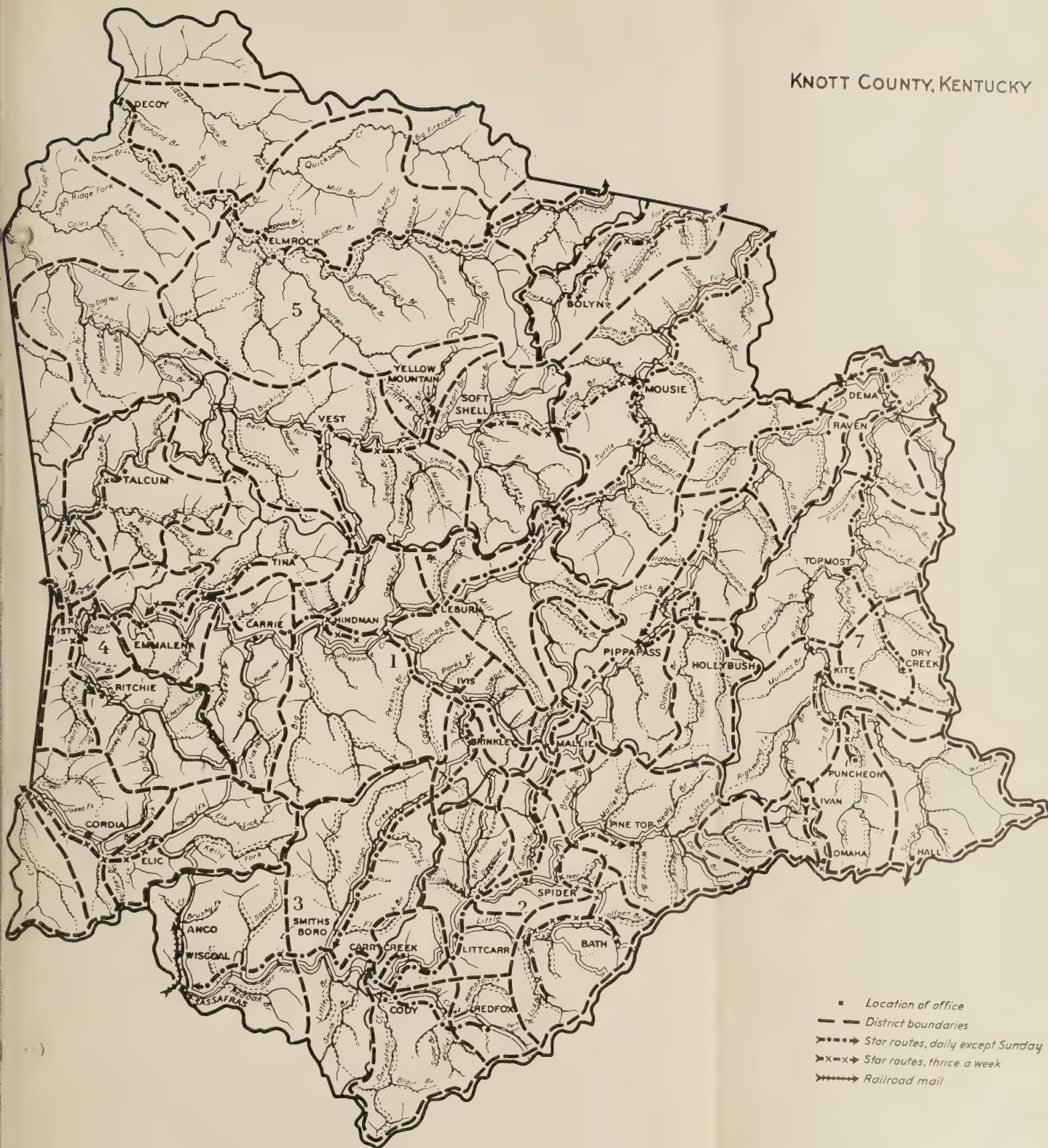


Fig. 6. Post Offices and Mail Routes.



building close by is owned by the Old Carr Church. The three rooms on the second floor, one of which is used for a schoolroom, are owned by the County Board of Education. The trading area is somewhat divided, but the Old Carr Church, one of the first founded in Knott county, holds the community together.

*Carr Creek Community Center.* In 1920, the Carr Creek community was started as a branch of the Caney Creek center, a one-room school with 26 pupils. It now consists of a 4-room recitation building, an auditorium with classroom overhead, a group of residence cottages and a gymnasium. It has 8 grades and 4 years of accredited high school, with a student body of 150 persons. Formerly the Flaxpatch children came to Carr Creek over a trail, but, in 1928, a branch of the Carr Creek center was established there as a separate school. The funds for Carr Creek come from private donations, with some assistance from the county school system of which it is a unit.

Adult education is sponsored by the center. For instance, in November, 1927, a staff from Berea College gave a series of lectures on child health, agriculture, industry and religion. The attendance averaged 119 persons, and roundtable discussions were held. Native leaders pointed out that while religion is the cornerstone of the life at the center, denominationalism has no place. Surrounding schools later may send students to the center, so its influence may be gradually enlarged.

*Cody.* The Cody school was established in 1925, to take the place of a nearby school that had been discontinued a number of years previously. It meets in the nondenominational church. There are no desks, but tables and straight-backed chairs are provided. Several families on upper Breeding Creek send their children to a Letcher County school.

A former Berea College student was instrumental in having the church built. A woman of some wealth, who was visiting Berea, was invited by him to visit his family at Cody. While she was there, he pointed out the need of a church so convincingly that she furnished the money for one, stipulating that it be nondemoninational and open to anyone who wished to preach there. Visiting preachers from nearby neighborhoods hold most of the services. Many of the families of Cody attend the negro church on Breeding Creek, the Old Carr and the Sassafras Baptist churches.

*Breeding Creek Negro Community.* This negro community



consists of approximately 100 persons, who live near white families with unusual freedom from friction. At the close of the Civil War, negroes of the Carr Fork valley had difficulty in renting land. Finally a large landowner on Breeding Creek came to the rescue and leased them some land and negroes from nearby creeks moved in, thus forming the community.

Until about 1912, membership was held in the Old Carr Baptist church. No trouble developed, but it was suggested that the negroes might prefer having a church of their own, and the Old Carr minister offered to aid them. They now hold services in their Breeding Creek school, and have unpaid local preachers. The young man who teaches the school is a native of the negro community. Some white families on Breeding Creek attend the negro church, and negroes patronize stores run by white merchants. Nearly every family owns a small farm. The men work in the Letcher county mines. In the spring, they quit work long enough to plant their crops, then go back to mining and leave the cultivation of the crops to their families. They associate freely with negroes from Vicco.

The Vicco Community club was organized in 1927 by George Higgins, a native negro preacher. Of the 15 families belonging to the club, 9 live on Breeding Creek. Meetings are held once a month on this creek, and several times a year at Vicco. Whenever the head of a member-family is ill, every income-earning member is assessed 25 cents, to help him out. No benefit is given where the compensation law will take care of the crisis. The group also pays the funeral expenses of any member.

*Upper Breeding Creek School District.* This school district covers a fairly large area, and is exceptional in the quality of work done and the number of students who later attend high school and college. A young man of the community, who is a bookkeeper in a Letcher county mine, says that he attributes the school's success to the enforcement of the attendance law during the past decade; that while the teacher who dared to enforce the law incurred the enmity of several families and stayed at the school only two years, his work made it easier for succeeding teachers.

Political rivalry caused the post office to be changed to Red Fox which made it necessary for most of the families to get their mail at Cody. The state highway, opened in 1929, makes it possible for





young man also assisted by teaching the lower grades. Following the death of one woman and the return of the other to her native state, a young woman native of the community has taught the school.

The Trace Fork school has a large classroom and a small room for library use. There are several nearby country stores. Flaxpatch, formerly a part of the Carr Creek center, is now a branch of the center and has a stone schoolhouse and a teacher's house. High school pupils go to Carr Creek. The stores on main Irishman creek are patronized by Flaxpatch families.

While all three school districts are a part of one church community, for convenience, meetings are held alternately in the main Irishman and the Trace Fork school buildings. Families also attend other nearby churches. Most of the families get their mail at the Smithsboro post office. For Masonic lodge meetings, the Hindman or Vicco lodges are attended. While the three school districts are united geographically, Flaxpatch families are interested in Carr Creek center, and Hindman is more accessible to those living on upper main Irishman.

*Smithsboro.* The families of this district are in the Sassafras-Vicco trade area, and in the Vicco lodge area. They are served by a country store. Three churches are within reasonable distance. It does not seem probable that the new state highway will cause Smithsboro to lose its neighborhood characteristics for several years.

*Sassafras-Vicco.* The Rev. A. E. Smith started church work in 1907 on Sassafras Creek. A year later, the Carr Fork Presbyterian church was dedicated and, in 1911, Mr. and Mrs. Smith moved into the community. In January, 1912, the pastor and his wife started a two-months school which, in 1913, increased its term to three months.

In 1914, the St. Nicholas school was started, named for a New York City church that sponsored the work. Land, lumber, and labor were given by the people of the district. Mr. Smith raised funds to pay one teacher, Knott county paid one and Mr. Smith himself was paid by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. By 1917, a four-year high school course was offered. Mr. Smith taught manual training, and Mrs. Smith held cooking classes in their home.

When Mr. Smith was transferred to Perry county, in 1916, the Rev. R. T. Gettys took over the work at the station, including St. Nicholas school, and Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Morgan were employed

as teachers. In 1922, the Smiths returned because the church board was about to close the station. In the fall of that year, the high school was accredited, and one high school teacher was added. Three girls were graduated in 1923 and, in 1924, seven received diplomas. Of the 1924 class, 7 entered the University of Kentucky that fall, five of whom have since received degrees.

In 1926, the high school was moved from St. Nicholas to Sassafras-Vicco. After one year the name was changed to Sassafras-Vicco high school, and the first six grades moved to separate buildings. Perry county built an elementary school at Vicco, Knott county at Sassafras, and the joint high school has continued in use. Reinhardt Memorial Home was built for girls whose homes are a long distance from school.

Vicco was becoming a railway shipping point and coal camp by 1923. In that year, the Rev. A. E. Smith began holding church services and, by 1926, the Vicco community church, built under his leadership, was dedicated. That year he moved to Vicco. A Methodist church was erected the same year. With a large trade area, both Sassafras and Vicco, twin villages, are thriving. In 1924, Mr. Smith organized a Boy Scout group to include boys 12 to 18, and the next year a troop of boy rangers 6 to 11 years old. The Vicco community church organized the Girl Scouts in 1924, and the group is still active. The Camp Fire Girls, organized by the Methodists, disbanded almost immediately.

Mr. Smith introduced basketball games at both Hindman and St. Nicholas. Some of the boys on the nationally recognized Carr Creek high school team had played on his elementary school teams at St. Nicholas. In 1928, he led in the building of a gymnasium. After deeding to the community church the land for the site, Mr. Smith encouraged the Boy Scouts to do most of the work, and materials were purchased with funds privately raised by him. During the winter of 1929-30, the Sassafras-Vicco and the Carr Creek high school teams rented the gymnasium.

The Boy Scouts have one room in the basement of the gymnasium, and another is being fitted for a community library. The library contained 1,100 books in 1931, including fiction, biography, history and travel. No magazines were subscribed for, but a few were given. The rent from the gymnasium paid for these later improvements. Before his death in 1930, Mr. Smith was planning to use one of the rooms to teach carpentry and manual training.



A major trade center for the Carr Fork section, Vicco serves a much larger area as a service center for picture shows, for athletics, and as a railroad point. The recent coal-mining development has favored experiment in community organization. The families at the Yellow Creek coal camps usually go to the Sassafras-Vicco trade center for shopping, amusements and church services. They have a few separate organizations.

*Anco.* When the Knott Coal company, operated by native capitalists, organized at Yellow Creek, it built a commissary where its employees are required to do their buying. A two-room school is nearby. A non-resident missionary Baptist minister does some work at Anco.

*Wiscoal.* Two other coal companies, under the influence of capitalists not native to the area, are operating on Yellow Creek. Unity on certain projects has been brought about because of the interlocking ownership of these two companies. One school, located midway between the two camps, serves both. Every employee of the two camps has \$1 a month taken from his pay check by company officials for the school fund. A trustee is selected jointly from the two camps. The Knott County Board of Education furnishes three teachers for the 8-month term, tho the coal company subsidizes salaries. During 1929-30, 8 students had the first year of high school, but the work was not accredited and was discontinued.

For several years, Missionary Baptist church services were held monthly at the schoolhouse. The Rev. R. M. Baldwin, the Vicco Methodist pastor, became principal of the school, and as he also served Vicco, he arranged for an assistant to take charge of Wiscoal church. It is conducted as a community organization, with the bookkeeper of a coal company as superintendent.

*Yellow Creek Negro Neighborhood.* The negro colony at Yellow Creek was started by the Wisconsin Coal company. The seams operated by both the Wisconsin and Perkin & Bolin companies are too narrow to attract native mountain labor at the usual wage rate, so the Wisconsin company appealed to Georgia negro cotton tenants. Later, negroes moved in from Tennessee and Arkansas, as well as from nearby communities. The 10 Georgia families bought farms in West Virginia, from an agent, with their savings, and when their wages were lowered, in 1928, they began to leave Yellow Creek. In accordance with state law, a separate school is maintained for these negroes. The negro woman teacher was

educated at the Kentucky State Industrial College at Frankfort, Kentucky. For further schooling, students go to the Vicco negro high school. The Georgia farm families organized a Missionary Baptist church while, more recently, those from Tennessee organized the Church of the Living God. As there are only a few families, support of two churches is possible only by cooperating with groups of similar faith at nearby camps.

*Cooperative Organizations.* A 4-H club has a membership drawn from all three of the Yellow Creek camps. Most of the men work in the mines, and the county agent says they are not interested in agricultural extension.

One physician and the Hazard Hospital company serve employees from all three companies, paid from salary-levies by company officials. The charges for the physician are \$1 a month for single men, \$1.50 for married men, and for hospital service 50 cents and \$1. Venereal, obstetric and workmen's compensation cases are exempted from both hospital and medical group service. The hospital charges company employees one-half the usual rate for obstetric cases, and the physician his usual rate of \$20. The company physician sometimes serves in private practice, as no other doctor lives within several miles. Many of those seeking employment object to the medical service contract. An official explained the company attitude as follows: "We are convinced that cooperative effort is necessary to obtain adequately trained and capable physicians in the mountain coal camps, so we tell them we are sorry that they do not like the cooperative method of obtaining medical service but if they don't like it we can't hire them on the company payroll. We find that most of the men see the light and remove their objections to this arrangement."

#### MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT No. 4

*Lots Creek.* Two school districts and part of another are in the Knott county portion of Lots Creek. This section is in the Sassafras-Vicco trade area and the Hardburly Masonic lodge area. The Junior Order United American Mechanics bought the second floor of the school building at Cordia for meetings. The Elic school has only one teacher, tho 80 pupils were reported in a school census. The attendance, however, averages about 65 persons. There are three country stores, and Yellow Creek commissaries are used for minor trading. The church areas are intricate; services are

held at the Elic schoolhouse, but at least three other nearby churches are attended.

The schoolhouse at Cordia, built in 1924, has two teachers. At that time the district hoped to have at least two years of high school, but these plans did not mature and, in 1928, the Junior Order U. A. M. bought the second floor of the building. With one end of the district in the Sassafras-Vicco trade area, and the other in the Hazard area, Cordia inhabitants also trade at a country store. Parts of this district are in three church areas.

*Clear Creek.* Located along Clear Creek are two entire school districts and part of a third. Two small schools serve part of the families, while the Clear Creek school is the largest and best known institution. Mrs. Alice S. G. Lloyd helped, in 1925, to establish a high school at Clear Creek. The deed for the lot was made jointly to the Caney Creek community center and the Knott County Board of Education. The building, which cost \$1,650, was started in July, 1923, and finished in approximately 6 months. The county board paid \$1,000 and the citizens of the district the remainder. The Caney Creek community center paid one teacher's salary from July, 1925, to February, 1927. Beginning in April, 1926, the school district residents have paid a special property tax, with the aid of which the county furnishes three teachers. Two years of high school are offered and, while the school is not accredited, students have entered other high schools by taking special examinations. In 1930, 9 high school and 68 grade school students were enrolled.

Four country stores are located on Carr Creek. Residents are in either the Hazard or the Sassafras-Vicco trade area. When the weather is favorable, the Clear Creek church is largely attended. During the winter, when travel is difficult, services are held in smaller groups within the Clear Creek area. Four-H club and adult agricultural groups meet within the district. Clear Creek church, and the junior high school near the church building form a practical community center at this point.

*Lower Balls Fork.* There are three schools in this section, two school districts being almost entirely within it. The Lower Ball school has only one room but two teachers. A school on Sandlick branch, and the Dobson school also serve in this section.

The Hazard trade area is the major one, with Dwarf, Hardburly, Duane and Hindman as minor areas. Also, several country stores serve the school districts they are in. The principal trade route for



most of the families is a road up to Roaring Branch, across a ridge, down a branch of Troublesome Creek and on to Dwarf. This makes Dwarf the leading minor trade area of the section.

Part of this district is in the Clear Creek church area, while services are also held in the Big Branch schoolhouse and at the Boughcamp church. The Boughcamp church, a Primitive Baptist institution, was moved to its present location from Buckhorn Creek, in 1918, as many of the families had moved to Lower Balls Fork in the years from 1890 to 1905. The members of the other churches are "free will" Primitive Baptists. Most of this section is in the Montgomery creek area for the Junior Order U. A. M. and in the Hindman area for the Masonic order.

The wagon trail passing thru this section from Hindman to the railroad at Jackson lost its importance soon after the railroad from Ashland was extended, in 1914, to Lackey, on the east edge of Knott county. The opening of the state highway from Dwarf to Hindman left this section relatively less accessible than any other part of Knott county except Quicksand. Two possibilities for decreasing isolation are the building of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles of second-class highway to connect with the Jackson-Hazard highway or the improvement of the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles of road up Roaring Branch, across the ridge to Trace Branch of Troublesome Creek, to connect with the Dwarf-Hindman highway.

#### MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT No. 5

*Buckhorn Creek.* The part of Buckhorn Creek that is in Knott county forms a neighborhood of its own. The people get their mail from the Vest post office, and their schoolhouse is at the mouth of Boughcamp Branch. By 1905, most of the land on the creek had been bought by holding companies. By 1930, only about 6 families lived on their own land, on small acreages scattered among corporation holdings. After the marketable timber had been removed, an official of one corporation deeded a large amount of the land to the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station for a forestry experiment. This cut the neighborhood off from settlements on the lower part of the creek.

*Upper Balls Fork.* This area is served by three post offices, Vest, Yellow Mountain, and Soft Shell. The lower end of the section is in the Dobson school district. At Vest there is a high school with an enrollment, in 1930, of 30, 12 of whom lived in the school dormitory. A building was started, in 1922, by the Knott County Im-

provement association and was later completed by Delta Zeta sorority and the county board of education, cooperating. An agricultural teacher who has done graduate work in his field has developed a wide series of projects. There are 4-H club as well as adult agricultural extension groups. Vest is in the Hazard major trade area, tho there are two country stores. Merchandise for these stores is hauled from Hazard to the mouth of Ogden Branch below Hindman, by wagon, up the branch thru a gap in the ridge, and down Trace Fork to Vest. Families on trading trips go by this route to the Dwarf-Hindman highway. Vest was formerly an important stop when Jackson was the trade center for Hindman and Carr Fork merchants. No church is located at Vest, and families attend the Boughcamp church and the church at the head of Balls Fork. Church meetings are sometimes held in the Vest school building. Families above Vest are in the Lackey-Garrett major trade area, and are also served by 7 country stores. Merchandise is hauled from Lackey and Garrett by wagon up Jones Fork and Ball Branch across the ridge to the head of Balls Fork. There is a one-room school at Ogden Gap, and another at the mouth of Terry Branch. A two-room building was erected at Wiley Branch mouth in 1930, replacing two nearby buildings. Many parents opposed the consolidation, as their children now walk three miles to school instead of only two.

Members of the Masonic order attend at Hindman and members of the Junior Order U. A. M., at Montgomery Creek. If a highway is built across Ogden Gap to the Dwarf-Hindman highway, Vest will probably become the trade center for most of Upper Balls Fork. On the other hand, the presence of two churches at extreme ends of the forks tends to divide the community.

*Quicksand Creek.* Laurel Fork and Middle Fork, both about 15 miles long, unite at Dema to form Main Quicksand Creek. Lumbercamp headquarters were established at Dema, but the timber hands camped at various places up both forks while cutting operations were in progress. Lumber was sent over a temporary railroad into Breathitt county and on to Paintsville. Most of the land is owned by timber corporations. Some of the families rent from them; others own their farms.

A native of Middle Fork, Robert Howard, says that in 1860 there were only five houses on both forks. A school was started before the Civil War, and reopened a few years after the war. Church services were held in the schoolhouse. The last floating of logs out

of Quicksand was done about 15 years ago. The Elmrock and the Decoy post offices serve this section. Schools are located on Joshua Branch, Baker Branch, and at Dema. No schoolhouse is located on Middle Fork. A lumber company arranged a few years ago for a branch of the Hindman Settlement School to be established at Decoy, and two teachers were employed. There has been a church near Decoy since before the Civil War, and about 1915 this group, formerly Regular Baptist, was succeeded by a United Baptist organization.

Quicksand area is divided into two trade areas, Hueyville, in Floyd County, and Jackson. There are several country stores. The timber company has a commissary at Decoy, and hauls merchandise over its logging railroad. By the fall of 1930, timber-cutting operations had been practically finished. Quicksand area is a prospective timber-growing region. If families with children of school age are allowed to rent land from holding corporations and settle in isolated sections, it will make a serious school problem, as most of them cannot send their children to boarding school.

*Saltlick Creek.* Only three miles of Saltlick Creek are in Knott county. There is one schoolhouse. Families go to Hanshoe post office and Hippo post office in Floyd county, and do most of their trading at Hueyville in Floyd county.

*Rock Fork.* Two schoolhouses serve the Knott county part of Rock Fork. Parent-teacher meetings, Sunday school and church services are held at the Bolyn schoolhouse. Families also attend the Stone Coal Church in Floyd county and the Ball Branch Church. This fork is in the Lackey-Garrett major trade area. Some trading is done at easily available country stores. Masonic lodge meetings are attended at Hindman and at Garrett.

*Jones Fork.* All of Jones Fork is in Knott county, and is served by Mousie post office, at the mouth of Ball Branch, formerly called Long Branch. There are four school districts, one at Short Fork, a two-teacher school at Mousie, a one-teacher school near Big Springs Branch and a two-teacher school at Triplett Branch. The Ball Branch schoolhouse was built about 1927 with the aid of the Red Cross, replacing a building destroyed in the flood of that year. As a high school was anticipated the building has three rooms, only two of which are now in use.

A group of Hindman residents, in 1909, helped with the establishment of a Methodist church on upper Jones Fork and, for a while Sunday school services were held regularly. Many Baptists



live in the neighborhood, and they made arrangements to hold services once a month in the Methodist building. Friction developed between the two denominations. Eventually, the Methodist church was closed and, in 1917, the building was sold to the Knott County Board of Education. It is now used as a school. Families on upper Jones Fork attend four different churches, including services at the Caney Creek Community Center. The fork is in the Lackey-Garrett trade area, tho a number of country stores are patronized. The Ball Branch church, founded in 1920, serves a large area, but is is having a difficult time. Services are held at Porter mine for families of the camp and a few farm families. They were started in 1930 by a mine foreman.

In 1926 a land boom took place, as it was thought that a railroad spur being built to the Porter mine would be extended to Ball Branch. Residences and country stores were concentrated in the Ball Branch bottoms. A well nearby furnished natural gas for heating and lighting.

The upper third of Jones Fork is in the Hindman area and the remainder in the Wayland area for the Masonic lodge. For the Junior Order U. A. M., the council at Ball Branch includes this entire fork. Ball Branch appears to be the natural community center for the Jones Fork area. The lower part of the fork is close to Lackey and is not an integral part of the Ball Branch community.

*Caney Creek.* Caney Creek is said to have been one of the most lawless districts in Knott county prior to 1916. In that year, Mr. Abisha Johnson persuaded Mrs. Alice S. G. Lloyd, of Ivis, to come to Caney Creek and establish a school. The Caney Creek Civic Betterment Association was created, and land for the school deeded to it by the Johnsons. Operated as a community center, the enterprise was soon incorporated and state supervisory services thereby procured. Funds have been contributed by friends in various parts of the United States. The ground and buildings for the graded and high school were deeded to the county board of education, which supplies some of the teachers and a considerable part of the current expenses, and the name of the secondary school was changed from Mt. Holyoke to the Knott county high school. Two years of college work have been added to the program, and students are being attracted from adjoining counties.

Four post offices are located on this creek. The so-called Old Caney Church, which was established about 1880, is attended by practically all the families, tho other churches are also attended.

Since October, 1929, Primitive Baptist preachers have held services in the auditorium of the Caney Creek Community Center, and many of the students of the school attend.

The major trade area is Wayland, and the only other trading is at country stores. Bridle paths and wagon trails are the only means by which some of these stores can be reached. The Masonic lodge and the Junior Order U. A. M. have membership on the fork. There are both adult and 4-H club agricultural extension groups. When an emergency flood relief agricultural agent was employed, in 1928, the Caney Creek Center paid the county's share of the expenses and had him live at the Center to work with farmers and 4-H club members nearby. This arrangement was continued for a year, when the county fiscal court assumed the responsibility.

The Caney Creek Citizens' Club was organized in 1927 to promote law enforcement, holding meetings on Sunday afternoon in the grade school building. According to the constitution, its purpose was to promote "good order and the general welfare of our community, particularly in lessening disturbing or interference with civic rights."<sup>1</sup> The difficulty in getting arrests made led to agitation for incorporation of the community as a town, and in March, 1930, the circuit court judge granted the right for Pippapass to be a sixth-class town. The schools are to remain a part of the county system. In October, 1929, a move was begun that resulted in combining the Citizens' Club with the Parent-Teacher Association.

The activities of the Caney Creek Community Center, in connection with the school, are of interest to the entire community. One of these is the "Exchange" held on Saturday mornings, and attended at various times by families of Caney Fork and all the adjoining creeks. Clothing donated to the school by patrons from other states is sold, often at bargain prices. This Saturday-morning occasion is important in the social life of this section of the county. Families from long distances often spend Saturday night with relatives in the community and attend church services on Caney Fork the next day. Many community programs are offered during the year. It is a regulation of this center that the young women be segregated from the young men.

The elementary school also attracts children from adjoining districts. The school district may enlarge rapidly if an improved highway is built on the fork.

<sup>1</sup> Constitution of the Caney Creek Citizens' Club.

*Right Beaver.* The right fork of Beaver Creek, known as Right Beaver, is separated from the rest of the county by a steep ridge. There are eleven country stores on Right Beaver. The lower half of the fork is in the Wayland trading area; the upper half is in the trading area of Wheelwright, a mining camp in Floyd county, to which many of the families make peddling trips on horseback. The two churches on Right Beaver have membership areas very similar to the two divisions for major trade areas.

Most Masonic lodge and Junior Order U. A. M. members belong at Wayland. Right Beaver has six post offices and eight schools. The Caney Creek Community Center has considered the possibility of establishing a high school on Right Beaver, but the lower end of the magisterial district is near Wayland high school and the upper end does not have sufficient population or means to support a high school. Some students from the upper end now attend high school at Wheelwright. For merchandise, medical service, recreation, communications and high school facilities, the Right Fork of Beaver depends on trade centers in Floyd county. Travel to Hindman is difficult and indirect. Only for services necessarily obtained thru county government, such as those of the elementary schools, law enforcement, and public health nursing, does Right Beaver have important relations with Knott county.

#### COMMUNITY TRENDS

*County-Seat Community.* It is significant that Hindman developed first as a county seat, and not as a trading town. The comparative advantages of railroad centers in adjoining counties prevented it from becoming a major trade center. The three distinct watersheds which divide Knott county also have a tendency to draw trade away from the county seat. The development of a strong elementary and high school with dormitory facilities has given Hindman a position of educational leadership in the county. The state highway across the county by way of Hindman will very probably tend to develop Hindman as a "convenience" trading town, rather than as a specialized trading town.

In 1929, the amount of cash available to spend for family living in addition to that furnished from the farm, averaged about \$500 per farm family, and exceeded \$800 in only one-fifth of the farm families in Knott county. The value of the food and the use of the dwelling averaged about \$480. It is doubtful if the cash available for family living will soon return to the 1929 level because of the



decline in the prosperity of the coal industry. With limited farm purchasing power in the country, trading at Hindman will be confined principally to the buying of groceries, work clothing, elementary household hardware, and to filling-station, garage, and banking services.

*Coal-Camp Communities.* The rapid industrial development of these communities has produced an attitude of tolerance for changes in social organization, with which an attitude of industrial and social paternalism has developed. Employment in the mining companies has generally depended on a willingness to submit to the wage-payer's authority in matters of work and social life. These two attitudes have favored experimentation in social organization. Thus it was in coal-camp communities that the "company doctor," the group contract for hospital service, and the community church ideas were first tried in this county. Communities of this type usually suffer a severe setback in social organization if the principal industry is abandoned.

*Lumber-Camp Community.* Decoy is the only lumber-camp community in the county. This type of community was recognized as temporary when operations began, hence buildings were erected for a short period of use. Only the more fundamental types of organizations were created, no local leadership was developed, and even the schools were located temporarily in the neighborhoods where log cutting was under way. Certain social maladjustments were tolerated because it was recognized that time would soon bring its own remedy.

*High School Communities.* Persons not native to the mountains supplied most of the leadership in the high school communities of Knott county. This is true not only of the three special school communities of Pippapass, Carr Creek and Vest, but also of the educational activities in the other two communities of Hindman and Sassafras-Vicco. Mountain families were ready to donate lumber, labor, and moral support to those who gave reasonable promise of better educational opportunities. This cooperation was granted to Mr. George Clarke, in 1886, at Hindman and to Miss May Stone and Miss Katherine Pettit, in 1900. It was granted to Rev. A. E. Smith at Sassafras, in 1914, and to Mrs. Alice S. G. Lloyd at Caney Creek, in 1916. Likewise, when Mrs. Lloyd was invited to help establish schools of the newer type at Carr Creek, in 1919, at Vest, in 1922, and at Clear Creek, in 1925, the same order of cooperation was extended by the native families.

It should be noted that at Sassafras-Vicco the large number of families moving into the community made the distinction less marked between native and imported leadership in education. This is the only community in which the high school became an integral

TABLE 2. SCHOOL POPULATION AND ATTENDANCE, FOR THE AGES, 14 TO 20, INCLUSIVE, IN KNOTT COUNTY, 1930 <sup>1</sup>

Group	Number in age group	Number attending school	Percent attending school
14 and 15 years .....	750	580	77.3
16 and 17 years .....	729	391	53.6
18 to 20 years, inclusive .....	922	205	22.2
All groups .....	2401	1176	48.9

<sup>1</sup> Data from the Federal Population Census, 1930.

TABLE 3. HIGH SCHOOL POPULATION AND ENROLLMENT, BY MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS, 1930

District	Population 15 to 24 years	Estimated high school population <sup>1</sup>	High Schools, 1930	
			No.	Enrollment <sup>2</sup>
Entire county .....	3,085	1,234	4½	371
1. Hindman and Lower Troublesome .....	532	213	1	115
2. Upper Carr and Middle Carr .....	432	173	1	57
3. Yellow Creek and Irishman of Carr .....	489	196	½	45 <sup>3</sup>
4. Lots Creek, Clear Creek and Lower Ball .....	365	146	0	0
5. Upper Ball, Quicksand, Rock Fork, and Salt Lick .....	480	192	1	32
6. Caney and Jones Fork .....	536	214	1	124
7. Beaver .....	251	100	0	0

<sup>1</sup> Estimated at four-tenths of the age group, 15 to 24 years, reproduced in column 1, from U. S. Census, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Enrollment for the year 1930-31.

<sup>3</sup> This figure is one-half the total enrollment of Sassafras-Vicco High School.

part of the tax-supported county school system, quite distinct from the community center movement which gave the school its start. This was in part due to the larger concentration of industrial wealth in this community and in part to the joint control of the school by the Knott and Perry county school boards. It is doubtful if the county school system could take over and completely finance the high schools in the agricultural communities of this section unless the state support of high schools is increased.

Because the Sassafras-Vicco high school was patronized and financed jointly by both Knott and Perry counties, it is counted as one-half a unit for each county. Therefore, in 1930, Knott county

had four and one-half high-school units. With an assessed valuation, in 1931, of \$5,937,500, this gives an average of \$1,319,442 per high school.

Tables 2 and 3 present U. S. Census data on the population of high-school age. Table 2 shows that in Knott county over one-fifth of the persons normally of college age, 18 to 20 years, were attending school in 1930, of whom a large proportion were probably attending high school. There were 1,479 persons, age 14 to 17 years, inclusive, the usual high-school age. The Federal census of 1930 reported 26 negroes 15 to 19 years of age in Knott county. This gives an average of 323 white persons of high school age for the four and one-half high-school units in the county. Table 3 shows that for the school year, 1928-1929, the enrollment in the high schools of Knott county was 371 pupils, or an average of 82 for each of the four and one-half high schools. The enrollment of only one of the high schools in Knott county exceeded 100 pupils, altho another almost reached this number. When we compare the high school enrollment with the census enumeration of persons of high school age, we see that only 371 out of a possible 1453, or approximately 25 percent, were attending high school in 1930. This percentage of enrollment can be expected to increase as interest in secondary school training spreads thruout the county, especially if the high schools of the county find it possible to develop vocational courses to the extent that they have developed the classical courses in preparation for college entrance.

It is recognized that topography makes it impractical for all the pupils of this mountainous section to live at home and attend a high school having an enrollment of 100 or more. The dormitory system is now in use at each of the five high schools in Knott county. The dormitories are operated by the settlement school organizations at four of the high schools. At the Sassafras-Vicco high school, thru the philanthropic efforts of the community church leaders, a cottage has been maintained to provide dormitory accommodations for girls.

Lower Clear Creek school district has already levied a special tax for the support of two years of high-school work. The upper halves of Lots Creek and Rock Fork, and most of Right Beaver are too distant from high schools at present to permit high school students from these parts of the county to return home daily. The problem is further complicated because the students of Clear Creek and Lots Creek are geographically in the high school area of Hardburly, in



TABLE 4. SERVICE AGENCIES WITHIN THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF KNOTT COUNTY, IN 1930

Type of neighborhood	Service agencies					
	Magisterial district	Schools, No. of teachers	Country stores	Post offices	Churches	Lodges extension groups
All types		74	99	34	28	3
School neighborhoods (32)		38	47	19	0	2
Carrie .....	1	1	1	1	—	—
Montgomery .....	1	1	1	1	—	1
Brinkley .....	1	2	3	1	—	1
Mallie .....	1	1	2	1	—	—
Head of Carr .....	2	1	0	2	—	—
Nealy .....	2	2	3	—	—	—
Brannon Branch .....	2	1	1	—	—	—
Smith Branch .....	2	2	1	1	—	1
Buffalo .....	2	1	2	1	—	—
Big Double .....	2	1	1	—	—	—
Upper Breeding Creek .....	2	1	5	1	—	—
Flaxpatch .....	3	1	—	—	—	—
Smithsboro .....	3	1	1	1	—	—
Cordia .....	4	2	2	1	—	1
Dicks Branch .....	4	1	—	—	—	—
Lower Ball .....	4	2	1	1	—	—
Buckhorn .....	5	1	—	—	—	—
Ogden Gap .....	5	1	1	1	—	—
Terry Branch .....	5	1	3	1	—	—
Joshua Branch .....	5	1	2	—	—	—
Salt Lick .....	5	1	—	1	—	—
Lower Rock Fork .....	6	2	4	—	—	—
Head of Jones Fork....	6	1	1	—	—	—
Big Springs Branch....	6	1	3	—	—	—
Raven .....	6	1	3	1	—	—
Upper Hollybush .....	6	1	—	1	—	—
Bill D. Branch .....	7	1	1	—	—	—
Puncheon Branch .....	7	1	1	1	—	—
Kite .....	7	1	1	1	—	—
Potato Branch .....	7	1	1	1	—	—
Patten Branch .....	7	1	—	—	—	—
Salisbury Branch .....	7	1	2	—	—	—
School and church neighborhoods (23)....	—	30	49	14	26	1
Upper Mill Creek .....	1	1	2	1	1	1 <sup>a</sup>
Squint Johnson .....	1	1	—	—	1	—
Lower Mill Creek.....	1	1	1	—	1	—
Ivis .....	1	1	2	1	1	1 <sup>a</sup>

TABLE 4. (Continued)

Type of neighborhood	Service agencies						Agri. extension groups
	Magisterial district	Schools, No. of teachers	Country stores	Post offices	Churches	Lodges	
Mallet .....	2	2	3	1	1	—	—
Old Carr .....	2	1	2	1	1	—	—
Cody .....	2	1	1	1	1	—	—
Head of Irishman.....	3	1	1	—	1	—	—
Trace Fork of Irishman .....	3	1	5	—	1	—	—
St. Nicholas .....	3	1	—	—	2	—	—
Elic .....	4	1	3	1	1	—	—
Upper Clear Creek ...	4	1	2	—	1	—	—
Lower Clear Creek ...	4	3	2	2	1	—	1
Big Branch of Ball ...	4	1	1	—	1	—	—
Boughcamp .....	5	1	2	—	2	—	—
Wiley Branch .....	5	2	3	1	1	—	—
Baker Branch .....	5	1	1	1	1	—	—
Bolyn .....	6	2	3	1	1	—	—
Ball Branch .....	6	2	6	1	1	1	—
Old Caney .....	6	1	2	—	1	—	—
Mouth of Hollybush..	6	1	2	—	1	—	—
Isaac Fork .....	7	2	4	1	1	—	—
Upper Dry Creek .....	7	1	1	1	1	—	—
School and kinship neighborhoods (4).....	—	4	3	1	0	0	1
Owens Branch .....	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Big Branch of Troublesome .....	1	1	2	—	—	—	1
Emmalena .....	1	1	1	1	—	—	—
Wolfpen .....	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
Ethnic neighborhoods (2)	—	2	0	0	2	0	0
Breeding Creek Negroes .....	2	1	0	0	1	2*	—
Yellow Creek Negroes	3	1	0	0	1	—	—

a Established since 1930.

\* This neighborhood has a mutual aid association.

Perry county. Likewise, the other three sections are geographically in the high school areas of Lackey, Wayland, and Wheelwright, in Floyd county. Since all these schools are located at mining camps some distance from the Knott county line, a cooperative high school

operated jointly by the two counties would very probably not be feasible. But in all these high school areas, a tuition system paid for by the Knott county Board of Education would undoubtedly prove more economical than dormitory expense at one of their own county high schools, or than a small high school located in the Knott county portion of the creeks.

Dormitory facilities for high-school students might be an effective way for the settlement school organizations and other private or non-governmental agencies to continue to serve in the educational program of this county. Capable students who live far from the high-school centers are often in the poorest agricultural sections. Life in the carefully-maintained dormitories is an excellent training for life in communities outside the mountains. It is evident that a large number of the high-school graduates of this county will find employment outside the county, because the birth rate of both the farm and non-farm population in the county, from 1925 to 1930, was approximately two and one-half times that necessary to maintain the population. The dormitory experience could form an integral part of the vocational training in domestic science, manual training and household arts.

*Church Areas.* Of the 36 church groups in Knott county, in the summer of 1930, 13 were larger than school-neighborhood groups. Nine of the 13 larger groups had their own church buildings; the other four met in schoolhouses, when the meetings were held indoors. The 23 small neighborhood-church groups did not conform to the school districts in which they were located, but usually the attendance was drawn from an area no larger than an average school district. Four of these small neighborhood-church groups had their own buildings, seventeen met in school buildings and two met in the homes of members.

The native preachers of Knott county cooperate in arranging their preaching services. This custom has some features in common with the larger parish plan of church administration used in other parts of the United States. In order to maintain the monthly church meetings thruout the winter, when muddy trails and swollen creeks make travel difficult, the ministers find it necessary to make use of the small neighborhood groups in private homes.

During the summer the thirteen larger churches have developed the custom of changing their monthly services to week-day outdoor meetings at such central points that many communities may send



representatives. The custom of rotating the outdoor meeting place on neighboring creeks has drawn members of the smaller churches to the larger meetings as well as bringing to these meetings many of those who do not affiliate with any church. One of the unique features of these gatherings is the memorial service held for those

TABLE 5. NUMBER OF CERTAIN SERVICE AGENCIES IN THE COMMUNITIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS OF KNOTT COUNTY, IN 1930

Communities and neighborhoods		Number of service agencies					
Type	Number	Elementary schools	General stores	Post offices	Churches	Lodges	Agri. extension groups
Communities .....	9	9	23	8	8	2	3
County seat .....	1	1	4	1	2	1	1
Coal camp* .....	4	4	8	3	4	0	0
Lumber camp .....	1	1	2	1	1	0	0
High school .....	3	3	9	3	1	1	2
Neighborhoods .....	61	61	99	34	28	3	4
School .....	32	32	47	19	0	2	2
School and church..	23	23	49	14	26	1	1
School and kinship..	4	4	3	1	0	0	1
Ethnic .....	2	2	0	0	2	0	0
Communities and neighborhoods .....	70	70	122	42	36	5	7

\* In the totals for coal-camp communities only the service agencies of Sassafras were included from the Sassafras-Vicco community, since Vicco is not in Knott County.

who were deceased during the year. The thirteen larger churches thus serve as centers around which a group of neighboring churches join together as an informal federation of neighborhoods for the summer meetings. The preachers from the small churches share in the day's religious exercises.

In the newer type of elementary and high schools of the county, Sunday schools are being conducted for the children of their school districts. As the highways are developed in Knott county adjustment is to be expected in the church life of the county. This custom of open-air meetings or memorial services during the summer months is peculiarly well adapted to a region where travel is slow and difficult and where kin are numerous on the neighboring creeks.

In this area of deep, narrow valleys and difficult travel, the changes that follow state highway construction bring into sharp relief the problem of the relation between the school district or

church neighborhood and the larger summer church community. Those in parts of the county that are more accessible to the highways adopt new customs more readily than those who live in the less accessible neighborhoods. Preserving a social unity between the remote neighborhoods and the larger communities is possible thru emphasis on kinship of the families. The kinship tie is already emphasized in the summer-time memorial services.

#### NEIGHBORHOOD TRENDS

Table 4 classifies the 61 neighborhoods of Knott county into four types. There are 32 school, 23 school and church, 4 school and kinship, and 2 ethnic neighborhoods. Table 5 presents a summary of the communities and neighborhoods. For six kinds of service this table shows the distribution among the various types of communities and neighborhoods. Because the school district furnishes the nucleus of the neighborhood in every instance, the district line is taken as the boundary of the neighborhood. These boundaries as shown in Figure 4 are located on the basis of school attendance. They are extremely flexible and responsive to the wishes of each family.

Table 4 shows that, proportionately, the school neighborhoods have about the same number of post offices as the school and church neighborhoods but fewer general stores. The proportion of neighborhoods having a one-teacher school is practically the same for both types. In only four of the neighborhoods was kinship an important factor in maintaining solidarity. Kinship is an important factor in the social organization of the entire mountain area, but in most of this county it operates without reference to neighborhood boundaries.

State highways and improved county roads will tend to lengthen neighborhoods up and down the narrow valleys of this region but even hard-surfaced roads probably will not cause them to expand into village trade-area communities to the extent that they have done in areas of Kentucky outside the mountains. The most important social problems of the average mountain neighborhood may continue to be the maintenance of a vital one- or two-teacher elementary school and an active neighborhood church group expanding into a larger church group during the summer.





